

# PEACE NEWS

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George Lansbury



Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD

## Programme for a courageous nation No war, offensive or defensive and no army of any kind

— PRESIDENT OF INDIA

A STRIKING indication of the resurgence of faith in the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi was given in New Delhi, India, in the past two weeks, when Prime Minister Nehru opened an international seminar on the "Contribution of Gandhian Outlook and Techniques to the solution of tensions between and within Nations."

The seminar, which ended with an address from the President, Dr. Prasad, on January 17, was attended by scholars from the East and West and was organised by the Indian National Committee for Co-operation with UNESCO.

Pastor Niemoller, Lord Boyd Orr, president of the National Peace Council, Dr. Ralph Bunche and Mrs. Alva Myrdal, representing UNESCO, were among those present.

Mr. Nehru told the seminar that wars had never solved any problems, they only left behind them a trail of bitterness.

"There is so much talk of peace everywhere," he said, "but very little of it is honest talk. I do not say that about the people."

"People in every country want peace. But I am referring to the people at the top—statesmen, politicians and all such folk... either through fear or something else they do not work for peace, though they talk about it. So we see the world going step by step toward some disaster."

The way of hatred was a bad way, continued the Prime Minister, "it produces distempers all round, more especially on the person who employs it."

### The basis of war

Whether the seminar yielded any practical results immediately or not, it would have achieved much if it helped people to get out of that rut which made them think that there was no other way to solve a problem than to hit a man with a club and break his head.

"That is an extraordinary way to think. That is the basis of war."

Mr. Nehru said he was sure the Gandhian outlook and technique pointed out the right direction to a distracted world. He laid stress on one of the cardinal Gandhian principles of attaining the right end through the right means, for if the means were not right, the end, however much right, got vitiated.

"Victory is important but far more important is the way it is attained."

### Four significant factors

The first meeting of the Seminar, January 6, was opened by Lord Boyd Orr.

Speaking of the application of Gandhian techniques to the solution of internal and international tensions he said there were four significant factors in the modern world which must be borne in mind: 1. The advance of science had created conditions which could eliminate hunger and disease, but which, if not properly used, could also eliminate mankind; 2. The concentration of power in the hands of a small minority; 3. The replacement of a large number of states of more or less equal strength by two nations which could deploy overwhelming military power; and 4. The great development in ethical consciousness of the general masses, mainly as a result of the progress of education.

### Injustice must be resisted—Acharya Kripalani

The first formal statement on the subject for discussion was made by Acharya Kripalani, who was for several years the Private Secretary of Gandhi.

The first thing, in his opinion, which distinguished Gandhi from many of the great leaders and thinkers of the past was the fact that he was not primarily concerned with the misery of the individual.

For his answer to human misery, whether individual or social, could be found only through social action and he was, therefore, essentially a social reformer.

Referring to certain principles formulated by Gandhi to regulate individual conduct and thus achieve harmony between individual and society, Mr. Kripalani said that the first of these was that society as well as the individual must be wholly and unconditionally truthful.

Secondly, Gandhi thought that inequality and injustice must be resisted at any cost. Thirdly, Gandhi always made a sharp distinction between systems and individuals; he condemned British imperialism but not Britishers.

The problem before the world today was whether Gandhi's principle of non-violent resistance could be applied to conflicts between nations. Gandhi believed this possible.

Continued back page

## Starvation in 1990

SIR RICHARD ACLAND'S  
WARNING

THE way to peace by a plan for World development was outlined by Sir Richard Acland, MP, chairman of the Association for World Peace, to a meeting at Halifax on January 8 organised by the Society of Friends and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The Ven. Eric Treacy, MBE, Archdeacon and Vicar of Halifax, presided.

Sir Richard doubted whether the institutions of democracy would survive in the 21st century unless the conception of democracy developed from the kindergarten stage. They could not but notice the challenge of Communism and consider the anti-Christian form it had taken, and it was important to understand the elements in Communism which contained valid judgment of their economic failure.

If they looked at those parts of the world not under Communist control they would find the most obvious injustices in the disparity between the standards of developed and under-developed countries.

The 19 richest countries in the world with 16 per cent. of the world's people, had just over 60 per cent. of world income, while just over half of the people, living in the 15 poorest countries, had to get by on eight per cent.

### Where starvation is normal

In Africa, Asia, and South America there were parts in which squalor, disease and starvation were the normal condition.

The ratio between world food production and the increase of population, said Sir Richard, was deteriorating rather than improving and they were going towards a world crisis threatening starvation somewhere around the 1980's and 1990's.

The poverty to be found in the world was no new factor, but whereas poverty-stricken people fifty and a hundred years ago simply took poverty for granted they were now pestered with ideas and the knowledge that it was not an inevitable condition.

### YOUTH - BORN IN 1934 - WAS ASKED

"How would you have  
stopped Hitler?"

FATHER PROTESTS TO  
TRIBUNAL

QUESTIONS put by the Edinburgh Appeal Tribunal to his eighteen-year-old son were strongly criticised by the CO's father at a recent session.

The appellant was Ronald W. Manderson, 40 Jameson St., Glasgow, whose appeal against a decision of the local tribunal in Glasgow refusing to classify him as a CO was dismissed.

Ronald Manderson said that he objected to military service on humanitarian not religious grounds. He believed in the dignity and preservation of the human race—by being sincere and truthful and by standing out against everything that was wrong.

Answering Sir George Morton, the appellant said that he was entitled to defend himself, if it was a matter of "kill or be killed." Asked how he would have stopped Hitler, Manderson replied that he "would have done it by individual action."

Asked further questions by the Tribunal, Ronald Manderson could not give satisfactory answers and sometime made no reply at all.

His father, Mr. James Manderson complained that the Tribunal should not have asked his son "a lot of questions he could not answer."

Mr. Manderson added that he was not keen at all about his son being a conscientious objector, but after he had listened to the proceedings he had wished he had supported him all along. Three of his other sons had been in the Army and he and the boy's uncle went through World War II.

The verdict of the Tribunal would put his son in the Army and he did not like the way the whole affair had been handled. The Tribunal should confine their questions and remarks to things the boy should know about.

### FIVE CHIEFS SPEAK TONIGHT

FIVE Chiefs from Central Africa will put forward their case against Federation at a public meeting tonight (Friday) in Church House, Great Smith Street, Westminster at 7 p.m.

Lord Homburg of the Africa Bureau will be in the Chair.

### MP AND JOURNALIST DEBATE KOREAN CRISIS

## Prisoners question least important

— SYDNEY SILVERMAN, MP

From Olwen Battersby

IT seems to me fantastic, irresponsible and mischievous to the last degree, that the bombardment, the napalm, the loss of our lives and theirs, the destruction of the countryside and the danger to world peace should continue because we say that we must deal with the prisoner of war question before we stop the fighting."

This was the view expressed by Mr. Sydney Silverman, Labour MP for Nelson and Colne, at a debate on "The Deadlock in Korea" arranged by the Progressive Business Men's Forum in London last week. His opponent was Mr. Guy Eden, Sunday Express political correspondent.

"There are many outstanding questions," he continued. "There is the unity of Korea, the representation of China on the United Nations, the fate of Formosa: the least important question is that of the return of prisoners. Why can it not fall into place among the others?"

### Both proposals reasonable

"I am in favour of a cease fire, now," he said, "on any terms. Until we get a cease fire the Korean people, victims of 'liberation,' will continue to be crucified on the cross of the cold war."

Mr. Silverman regretted that the Indian proposals had been turned down; but he also regretted that the Russian proposals had been turned down: both were in his view reasonable proposals.

"To suggest that concern for the POW question is actuated by humanitarian motives is just poppycock," he continued. "No fighting force has a worse record in regard to treatment of prisoners than the UN forces in Korea."

"Can it really be possible," he concluded, "that rather than deny to prisoners who have voluntarily fought against us, the right to decide for themselves whether or not they return home, we would lay the whole country waste, and risk the mass suicide of World War III?"

Mr. Guy Eden spoke in defence of United Nations' action.

He deplored the shooting of prisoners by United Nations forces. "But the prisoners did have stones," he added, "and they greatly outnumbered their guards." It was both unfair and harmful to confuse panic action on the part of very young guards with considered government policy.

He defended the policy of screening by saying that it had been carried out by "an impartial United Nations officer." Out of 170,000 prisoners, 70,000 only were willing to return.

"Mr. Truman has said that he will not buy an armistice by handing over human beings to slavery and slaughter. How can we send 100,000 prisoners, many of whom have said they would commit suicide rather than return, and who are in mortal fear of the unknown, back to a fate which may be similar to that of the Jews in Nazi Germany?"

### "END CONSCRIPTION" CONFERENCE

EVERY organisation concerned with the abolition of conscription has been invited to send delegates to a Conference called by the No Conscription Council.

The Conference, which will be held at the Caxton Hall, Victoria Street, S.W.1, on Monday, February 2 at 6.30 p.m. will be asked to consider how to unite the peace movement in opposition to a renewal of the National Service Acts which expire this year.

Applications for delegates' credentials should be addressed to the NCC, Crestfield Street, W.C.1.

### DON'T MAKE ANOTHER KENYA — Labour pacifists

A RESOLUTION urging the government to reject demands for Central African Federation was passed at their last meeting. "These proposals," say the LPF, "do not allow for African representation and the Africans are united in opposition to them. Moreover, they will, in our opinion, destroy the protection which the British Government now affords the Africans through the Colonial Office."

"If Federation is forced through against the Africans' wishes, there is grave danger that the situation will deteriorate, as it has done in Kenya, to one of unrestrained violence. Now is the time for wise policies to prevail."

### RACIAL HARMONY



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## PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N4  
STamford Hill 2262 (three lines)

23rd January, 1953

### VICIOUS SPIRAL OF DESTRUCTION

**I**N his last "State of the Union" message Ex-President Truman brought to the forefront certain things that we all know, although we are tempted to bury the knowledge in the recesses of our minds.

Having made these comments he went on to discuss international relationships as though the tremendous facts he had pointed to were not there after all.

He said, "From now on man moves into a new era of destructive power, capable of creating explosions of a new order of magnitude dwarfing the mushroom clouds of Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

He also declared that we had not come to the end of this process of increasing our power of destruction. Progress showed no signs of abating, and "we are being hurried forward, in our mastery of the atom, from one discovery to another towards yet unforeseeable peaks of destructive power."

Although there has been this revolution there has been no comparable change in the way nations confront each other in international affairs: there has been this stupendous change in the character of weapons, but diplomacy still moves on traditional lines—as if it were still operating in a world in which these new means of nationwide destruction did not exist.

Similarly diplomatic exchanges are still based ultimately on the measuring of destructive force against destructive force (described in the new catchwords as "negotiation from strength") despite the absurdity of assessing competing power to destroy.

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Policies founded on the axiom, "If you would have peace prepare for war" have never yet brought a century of peace.

The most it has been possible for such policies to achieve has been a few years of uneasy freedom from a "shooting war" until those who were to be cowed by the preparations have been able to make ready in their turn.

We face destruction if we do not get rid of war once and for all. The continuation of the traditional armaments competition in the new field of atomic preparation is a piece of blind insanity. We must find a new approach to peace if there is to be any chance of life for our children and our children's children.

Already when those atomic bombs were dropped in Japan it was known theoretically that the creation of the hydrogen bomb was possible. Nevertheless it was not developed and manufactured for some years. It was felt by the American Government that their possession of the atom bomb gave a sufficient ascendancy over the rest of the world.

In September, 1949, however, it was known that Russia had exploded an atomic bomb. Competition in this new sphere had thus begun.

This could have been taken as a warning that here was something to which the old maxim could have no relevance.

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Instead, the active preparation of the hydrogen bomb immediately came on to the American agenda, and when a few months later the Korean war was launched, the American Government made the necessary financial allocations for the preparation of the hydrogen bomb, tested last November at Eniwetok.

It may be taken for granted that the Russians have learned quite a deal from the Eniwetok test as well as the Americans; and doubtless, just as Russia set about matching American preparation with the atom bomb, it is now proceeding with its own endeavour to create the hydrogen bomb. In the meantime Great Britain has had to demonstrate that it is not entirely free of suspicions of America as well as of Russia, and it has loudly acclaimed its success with the atom bomb at Monte Bello. No doubt Britain also is now engaged in the second lap of the atomic race; after which the nations will pass on to a new phase of world-menacing discovery.

"There is ahead of us a long hard test of strength and stamina," said Mr. Truman, "between the free world and the Communist domain."

Mr. Truman had himself already shown that this is not the kind of test we have to face at all. The test by which we shall be measured, and by which it will be decided whether we are to have a future, is whether we can apply human common sense to a completely new set of factors.

If President Eisenhower, or Mr. Churchill would go to talk with Mr. Stalin, and if the menacing new situation created by the new weapons could be the first and most important item on the agenda it might be a beginning.

### So now we know

**F**EW disclosures in the diaries of outstanding figures in the war or post-war years have been more significant than one which appears in the Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg.

The late senator was a Republican politician and newspaper owner and for a period chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In 1947 he discovered that Roosevelt had agreed with Churchill to a full exchange of information on atomic research and also to what amounted to a virtual veto by Britain on the American use of the atom bomb.

Displeased as he was about the exchange of information the Senator was astounded at the existence of a British veto, and he determined that it must be abolished at all costs.

His opportunity came a few months later when the British Government was in need of Marshall Aid—for which the approval of the Senate was necessary. Such approval was unlikely without a recommendation from the Foreign Relations Committee and Vandenberg's own support.

At a Washington Conference in 1948 Vandenberg secured from Mr. Attlee, then Prime Minister, the surrender of the right of veto in return for the much needed backing for Britain's request.

We have often been told that there were no strings attached to Marshall Aid but we have always maintained that even if there were no specific conditions attached it is no more possible for a government than for an individual to accept large sums of money without incurring a sense of obligation. In this case it would seem that the Labour Government sold for American dollars a very important political safeguard.

### Who is in control?

As Mr. Truman reminded us in his farewell address he accepted the responsibility of deciding to use the atom bomb against Japan.

Whether the reasons he gives were the only ones, millions do not share his confidence that the decision was right. Though Mr. Truman may now say that the use of an ultimatum followed by an atom bomb to solve the present conflict would be inconsistent with the principles which America seeks to defend, he was prepared to say previously that the end justified the means.

It would obviously be very much better for the human race that such a responsibility should not rest on one man and that Britain should have a right of veto, particularly since she is so intimately concerned in the consequences.

Though the legal ownership of America's atom bombs may rest with the U.S. government the atom plants are owned and operated by big business—the General Electric Company, Union Carbide and Carbon Company and Du Pont being the owners of the three main plants.

Not only so but of the five members of the Atomic Energy Commission four are associated with big trusts.

It is pertinent to ask how far this fact has influenced the policy of the American Atomic Commission in relation to the UN Atomic Energy Commission and to what extent the whole problem of the use and control of atomic energy has been complicated.

### Leaves from a notebook . . .

**T**WO good reasons for displaying Quaker peace posters were given recently by Eric S. Tucker, Secretary of the Society of Friends' Peace Committee:

1. It is one of the simplest ways of sowing a thought which may later grow into something much greater in the mind of the passer-by; and
2. It is an encouragement to some to know that there is a religious body which maintains a pacifist testimony.

It costs 3s. a year to receive the posters post free. They are published bi-monthly from Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1 and Friends' Meeting House, Clifford Street, York.

Message on the latest poster: "Hunger and poverty the cause of revolt; co-operation to remove them the way to peace."

### FOR BOYS ONLY

**B**OYS between 16 and 18 who object on Christian grounds to military conscription will be welcomed at a weekend conference from March 30 to April 1 organised by the Friends' Peace Committee (Quakers).

The purpose of the conference, to be held at Redatt House, Leighton Park School, Reading, Berks, is to provide an opportunity for boys to discuss their problems freely amongst themselves.

Leadership will be in the hands of A. J. Brayshaw and the Rev. Lewis MacLachlan, Editor of Reconciliation.

Joseph Brayshaw served for some years on the staff of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors. He is more widely known for his personal problems feature in the Daily Herald.

### KEY MAN IN AFRICA

**T**HE farm-labourer-cum-odd-job-man who gave Reginald Sorensen, MP and the writer, a lift to Shrewsbury station after an international conference five years ago must surely be the only agricultural labourer in "Who's Who."

## BEHIND THE NEWS

cited by the fact that American big business is more in control than the politicians.

### Korea: the next step

**W**E must not allow the problem of ending the war in Korea to pass out of our minds and hearts because it has ceased to hold the headlines in the Press.

When the Assembly meets next month its President will have to report officially the North Korean and Chinese reply to his letter sent on behalf of the Assembly. We hope that India will be using the interval in further private and informal attempts to clarify the situation—we wish that Krishna Menon could go himself to Peking.

The bombing of the Manchurian frontier may well have influenced the Peking Government's previous reply, and more recent references to a closer tie up between America and Chiang Kai-shek are not calculated to make Mao Tse-tung more conciliatory.

Mr. Nehru has again boldly stated the truth that there can be no peace in the Far East until the claims of the Peking Government for representation in UN have been met. There is unfortunately no indication that the new American administration is prepared to follow Nehru's advice, and only too many signs of fresh encouragement to Chiang Kai-shek.

In the meantime the whole matter is in the position of a case which is *sub judice* since it is on the agenda of UN and America has no right to take unilateral action which would change the situation for the worse or implicate the UN in any fresh war policy in the Far East.

America must be held responsible for the consequences of her opposition to the admission of China to UN—one of the conditions essential to peace in the Far East.

Unless the British Government is prepared to back Nehru forthrightly, and propose in the Assembly the admission of Peking in spite of the American attitude, they will have to share that heavy burden of responsibility.

If we cannot see any other immediate step which should be taken to bring the war in Korea to an end this is an obvious and vital one. We should all be demurring that the British Government should take it

### — but this too

**L**EWIS WADDILOVE, who has recently returned from Korea, has shown the full possibility of relief work there through the United Nations Korean Relief Agency (UNKRA) and a special project to be sponsored by the Society of Friends.

He has urged the Quakers to accept responsibility for finding some 75,000 dollars and 10 to 15 workers on the ground that the suffering in Korea is so much greater than in any other case where Quakers have

### VOICE OF GANDHI

**I** HEARD recently a recording made by Gandhi of "His spiritual message to the world."

Shops selling second-hand records, I have since learned, have been scouring by a number of PN readers, all asking for Columbia L.B. 67. Henry Rose returned triumphantly home with one shortly before his imprisonment as a CO.

The "Message," like every utterance from a great teacher, is one which will move some hearers and pass unheeded by others.

This is surely a recording that should be re-issued.

### NO CASE FOR COMPASSION

**J**AMES TROUP McDAID, a "Z" reservist who failed to submit himself for medical examination and 15 days training was charged at Oxford recently.

He pleaded that both his wife's parents had had strokes and that he had to look after them. His wife, too, was a "bundle of nerves."

McDaid was fined £20 and ordered to pay 5s. costs.

Peacemaker

helped in the past and that it was a valid service for Friends to heal all the conditions prevailing there.

In his view, if the Quakers establish themselves as an independent relief body now they might well be in a better position later to help effect reconciliation between the North and South.

We hope that whatever the UN plans for relief, they will not discriminate between the North and the South, or be used with any ulterior political motive. It is the plain duty of UN to do all that is possible as soon as possible to help to reconstruct the country which they have destroyed in the process of liberation.

### Plots, poison and purges

**H**E would be a bold, if not a foolish, man who in the absence of fuller information would attempt to assess the full significance of recent events in Russia and Germany and to say how they fit into the general pattern; but we may not have to wait long for some other news which will help to indicate more clearly what is happening and why.

In the meantime it is obvious that the arrests of the doctors in Russia, the ex-Nazis in W. Germany and Ministers in E. Germany are indications of the increasing tension and the predominating fears, and that they are evidence of underground movements in both countries.

The effect of the disclosures in Germany may well be to increase the misgivings about the rearmament of Western Germany. The anxiety of Britain and America for the ratification of the Bonn and Paris agreements suggests that the British Foreign Office must have had a better reason than they have so far disclosed for making these arrests at this time.

Is it an attempt to discredit the opposition to ratification by the suggestion that it is linked with the revival of nationalism or neo-Nazism? Whatever else it means, it is a reminder that war is not an effective way of destroying Nazism or any of its kindred totalitarian associations.

### Who succeeds?

So far as Russia is concerned, we can only guess at some of the possibilities, and before we can do even that, we have to remember that one of the indictments taken us back to August, 1948 and the death of Andrei Zhdanov, who was secretary of the all-powerful Central Committee of the Communist Party, the founder of the Cominform and one of those in the line of succession.

This is not the first time that the medical profession has been implicated, and on every occasion the question of the succession has been the one at issue.

From time to time, the mention of this man, the disappearance of that, a change in membership of the politburo or even of the positions assigned to its members, have been taken as indications of the rise or decline of the contending groups.

However true it may be that there is only one party in Communist countries and that no deviation can be permitted, it is clear that the party itself is no more united now than it has ever been. Personal ambition, the desire for power, and conflicting outlooks become important factors.

Fear of what may happen is not confined to the possibility of attack from without. There may be no danger to Stalin, but how many more months or years are in his allotted span—and what then?

### Scapegoats

Every effort has been made to deny the either the tragic trials or the arrests in Russia indicate an anti-semitic policy; a distinction is drawn between anti-Zionism, a tool of American imperialism, and anti-semitism.

Whatever other purpose the exposure of the plots is meant to serve, it is undoubtedly meant to intensify the hate campaign against America, and may well also be a bid for Arab sympathy.

It is an old trick to try to divert attention from internal dissension by stirring up hatred and suspicion against an outsider. The Jew has generally been the scapegoat because though he is to be found living within every nation, he has always belonged to another race, and had a loyalty not terminous with the country of his domicile. When he can be linked up with American imperialism he becomes a double scapegoat.

Intelligence agents or spies (according to which side you refer to) are an accepted part of political and military tactics, and when there is an intensive cold war, there will be more and not less spying.

That Russia avails herself of the services of spies and that many of her contacts would seem to be of Jewish origin, spy trials in America and Britain are evidence.

It is possible that the intelligence system in the USSR is proving it increasingly difficult to find and use such contacts, or that their own use of Jews as spies makes them the more suspicious that others also are.

Then.

In any case America and, to a lesser extent Britain, only increase the fears of Russia and the dangers of recrimination against the Jews by references to the need of liberation by such measures as the Mutual Security Act.

That Act, passed in October, 1951, allocated 100 million dollars for financing persons living in or refugees from Communist countries, either for their inclusion in units of NATO or "for other purposes."

Included among the "other purposes" is

(Continued on page 112)

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# America's influence on world economy

## II. INVESTMENT IN DESTRUCTION

By Francis Rona, M.Sc. (Econ.)

**MR. TRUMAN'S** Budget message to Congress on January 9 indicated the gigantic scope of America's "Defence Mobilisation" and the future uncertainties and instabilities of the U.S. economy.

Between July, 1950 and July 1953, \$129,000m. (£16,000m.) will be spent on weapons, expansion of war industries and already authorised military aid.

This amount is more than three times Britain's total annual income and approximately equals the yearly income of 1,800 m. people living in Asia, Africa and South America (C.I. UN Stat. Papers, Oct. 1950, Se.E/1 and UN Report on Under-developed Countries, 1951, II/B, 2).

The suggested new Budget allocates 73 per cent. of the Government's expenditure to "national security," costing \$57,300 m., and an additional 14 per cent. for ex-servicemen and interest on war debts. Only 13 per cent. of the Budget remains for other Government activities.

The expected deficit reaches \$9,900m. (£3,536m.), that is, half of the estimated annual income of the 360 million people living in India.

It seems improbable that President Eisenhower's Republican Administration will cut arms expenditure. Their ardent wish for tax reductions will impel them to leave little for economic assistance to "backward areas."

The huge expansion of "defence production" for the supply of steel, aluminium, copper, machine tools and other strategic commodities necessitates the investment of about \$8,000m. The value of the new plants completed by mid-1953 for armament purposes exceeds \$16,000m. (\$5,714m.) according to the Report of "Defence Mobilisation," Oct. 1952.

### VESTED INTEREST IN REARMAMENT

The structure of production has been distorted and millions of workers have been directed to arms industries to meet contracts of "defence mobilisation."

According to Mr. Truman, the number of men in the Armed Forces is now well over 3,000,000. Precise estimates are difficult, but probably ten million workers are employed in industries supplying military equipment or materials for "stockpiling," out of about 62m. comprising the working population.

At present, American "prosperity" is based on the expansion of armament industries. Any large-scale demobilisation or substantial reduction of the "defence programme" would create mass unemployment and precipitate a severe economic depression.

In order to prevent a "disarmament slump," General Eisenhower and his chief advisers, Mr. J. Foster Dulles, General W. Bedell Smith and the Defence Minister, Charles E. Wilson, are interested in a "more aggressive foreign policy" (Sunday Times, Jan. 18).

Significantly, Mr. Wilson holds, among other things, \$2,500,000 worth of shares in

### IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

**POST-CHRISTMAS** gifts and good wishes for the New Year in a tangible form have helped to bring the first total of the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund for 1953 to £11.

We also received one dollar from America. We specially welcome such links with our many friends in the United States, and are only too glad to take our place among other dollar earning enterprises.

Pacifism is not for home consumption only, and the more we can export it the more we are carrying out the vital task which is ours.

Unfortunately, we too, have our own particular problem of closing the gap between expenditure and income. In our case the volume of exports must depend upon the amount of our imports!

In other words, the more we receive from you, the more we can extend the witness of the PPU. The more you give, the more we can give. What more valuable export can there be than a truly creative and constructive peace policy?

Pacifism, like charity, begins at home, but as surely cannot stay there and remain pacifism. So of your charity and your pacifism please swell our imports. Pounds, shillings, pence, dollars—what you will and how you will—all are welcome because our need is great: but then so is our opportunity.

STUART MORRIS.

General Secretary.

Total received from Jan. 1, 1953: £11

Our aim for 1953: £1,000

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund" to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

General Motors—a firm which has obtained Government contracts. He has refused to give up this interest at his appointment as Defence Minister.

### CRISIS YEAR 1954

The consequences of a drastic cut of the "defence programme" prevent a return to normal peacetime production. President Truman warned against "fluctuations in employment" and spoke of minds deeply etched with the memory of the winter of 1932-33, "when about 15 million American workers, or about 30 per cent. of the total civilian labour force had no jobs and industrial production was only half what it had been in 1929 . . ."

"In the bigger economy we now have," said Mr. Truman, "a disaster of anywhere near the same proportions could mean some 20 million of our workers walking the streets."

Decisions on future U.S. economic policy cannot be postponed for several years. Armaments are "investments for destruction." They do not increase real wealth.

The waste of economic resources not only prevents normal peacetime development but also adversely influences overseas trade conditions. The policy of military aid and stockpiling creates instability in production and price movements throughout the West.

"Defence mobilisation" at the present scale cannot be continued for long. The year of decision is 1954. Will a still "more aggressive foreign policy" be the outcome?

### WASTE AND HUNGER, OR . . . ?

It is still not too late to reverse the arms drive and to press for a constructive economic policy in the West. In 1953 the value of goods and services spent on arms by the U.S., Britain and France is expected to be \$70,000m. (£25,000m.). Were these resources used for the support of "backward areas," the income of two-thirds of the world's population would be doubled.

The West, however, completely disregards the needs of "under-developed" countries. The U.N. Statistical Papers (Se.E/3, 1951, p.2) states:

"Asia, with over half the world's population, produces only one-tenth of the world's annual income, but North America (U.S. and Canada) with less than 10 per cent. of the world's population, accounts for nearly 15 per cent. of the world's income."

Mr. Truman's Economic Report to Congress concludes: "America is now confronted with the challenge to make its fair contribution toward world peace and security."

Two-thirds of the human race live on the verge of starvation. What is a "fair contribution" to improve their economic conditions? The tremendous waste of resources on weapons belies the humanitarian phrases used to justify the rearmament programmes.

All who want to bring themselves up to date on this subject should obtain the winter issue of "The War Resister," which contains a tabulated statement of the position in 78 countries about which the War Resisters' International has information, that is to say, in almost every country in the world.

Of the 78 countries listed, 57 have conscription, either in war-time only or both in peace and war. This includes 15 countries which conscript both men and women. In two the position was uncertain.

### Nineteen brave countries

The 19 brave countries which have no conscription include Afghanistan, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Eire, Iceland and, for the time being, Germany and Japan.

There are many interesting notes appended to the table, including one to the effect that the first country to use conscription in the modern world was France. It was introduced there in 1798, and the Encyclopaedia Britannica remarks that it was a logical result of the theory of equality which formed the basis of the French Revolution.

The Britannica writer refrains from mentioning that conscription is a denial of the two other basic principles of the Revolution—liberty and fraternity—and this, perhaps, describes in a nutshell, what is wrong with conscription from the moral point of view.

1s. 12d. post free from the WRI, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, or from Housmans Bookshop.

WALTER SPRADBERY, artist and poster designer, wrote recently in Peace News of his World War I experiences as a conscientious objector in the Royal Army Medical Corps. This week he ventures into the realm of fantasy with a description of

# THE ISLE OF SINISFREE

AS a famous author wrote of another place, it might be claimed that the fabulous island continent of Sinisfree had passed from barbarism to decadence without gaining the wisdom of experience of practising the arts the older civilisations achieved in their progress.

It had, however, acquired and used with vigour a great deal of their scientific knowledge and technology and the financial system of usury of their decline, and was, through the latter, in possession of the most expensive works of art produced by other nations.

It had also applied the scientific knowledge to gadgets and inventions for speed and streamlined efficiency, and to the making of diabolic instruments of destruction, so that its leading statesmen came to believe that they were a people of special merit, destined to rule lesser humanity and spread the principles of the Sinisfree way of life by the use and threat of their acquired powers of mass destruction.

They had the biggest, noisiest, most stinking bomb ever—so they thought, somewhat fearfully.

The principles of Sinisfree, as its name implies, were that men are free to exploit each other; that competition to get all that can be grabbed is a stimulus to vigorous well-being; and that what the age of Faith regarded as deadly sins became, when allowed free play, admirable; that Pride, Greed, Avarice, Sloth, Idleness, Lust, and Envy can all be agreeably dressed up to great effect—in fact will hardly be recognised by the simpler exploited when the trappings that advertisement can put upon them are used or propaganda proclaims their high qualities; that cleanliness and cosmetics are united for the benefit of mankind, particularly the manufacturing combines of soaps, powders, and health and beauty preparations; and that beauty may thus co-habit with deception and is not as some believe inseparable from truth—and anyway when it comes to diplomacy or getting one's own way, what is truth.

Being "tough" was a manly virtue, "glamorous" a womanly attraction, and maudlin sentimentality was "romantic", while wealth and extravagant luxury were distinctions that put you in the news and huge incomes a measure of worth and importance.

Socialism, of which it seems almost certain they knew nothing, would, one suspects, have been anathema to their governors. Indeed even those folk among them who ventured to suggest that the islanders' way of life, or foreign policy at some points, transgressed the humanities were

represented in a Press that reduced whole forests to pulp, as dangerous criminal revolutionaries and were removed from all positions of administration, or lost their humbler jobs, for "Anti-Sin activities" and were represented as being inefficient dictators.

Some think this may be considered at times as revenge (or a reaction) to their Puritan ancestry; but, of course they were of very mixed racial origin really, and seem mainly to have been drawn into a unity by the widely held conviction that money makes the man.

The President chosen under these circumstances was a General, experienced in total war, popularly known as Tyke, a name which conveyed certain bluff qualities and a dogginess that endeared him, with his wartime record, to the majority of voters.

The noisiest of his advisers was a certain Senator Daft, whose hysterical reactions at the mention of socialism or similar ideas reached an apoplectic frenzy, felt even among some of the islanders to be a bit dangerous and ridiculous, while in a good position in the background, as an influence on foreign affairs, was another General by name MacAskey who failed to achieve that reputation for good heartedness that the name somehow recalls.

As isolationists they aimed at a controlling interest in all the world markets with as little opportunity as possible for the world to get back at them.

Jack Notso Bright was another well-known personality in a privileged position, and all members of the government pursued a policy of mutual security that many who noted results felt less certain of themselves.

Now what was the fate, do you think, of this fabulous island continent.

Some say it is like Atlantis and lies beneath the depth of the seas where it sunk at the explosion of its own arsenal.

Others say that it awoke from its dream of power and perversion and returned to a nobler idealism that inspired its earlier days—that its people were neither entirely submerged by atomic explosions nor its voluminous press propaganda of Sinisfree ideas; that among them were healthier thinkers with a more humane and better idea of man's needs and responsibilities and that it gave up its pretensions to leadership by force and threat and joined simply and humbly in the Council of the Nations for reconciliation through understanding and good will, and an Age of Peace followed.

Some even say, that after all, it was infiltrated and in economic confusion became Communist—but that seems a very doubtful story.

### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

## Conscription: The position in 78 countries

**READERS** sometimes write to Peace News to ask for information as to which countries have and have not introduced conscription, and which of the former make provisions for conscientious objectors.

All who want to bring themselves up to date on this subject should obtain the winter issue of "The War Resister," which contains a tabulated statement of the position in 78 countries about which the War Resisters' International has information, that is to say, in almost every country in the world.

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From the practical point of view, one wonders why present-day statesmen place such faith in the system as a deterrent to aggression, in view of the fact that France, the home of conscription, has been invaded three times in the past hundred years.

M.H.W.

### "If you must have an enemy . . ."

"THE doctrine of 'negotiation from strength' is an implicit appeal to force and a denial of the relevance of moral values to the world policies of capitalist countries," writes Irish Senator, Professor Joseph Johnson, in the Jan. 1953 issue of One World (National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1. 4d.).

"If we must discover a foreign enemy to fight and absorb the surplus output of mature capitalist economies," Senator Johnson continues, "then there is no trouble in finding one."

"Hunger and malnutrition are the everyday experience of 1,500 million people not all of them in the undeveloped regions of Colonial exploitation."

"In a sane world converted to a humaner capitalism and a more tolerant Communism there is no problem of surplus productivity in the mature economies that could not be solved by turning tanks into tractors, atom bombs into power stations, and TNT into nitrogenous fertilisers."

### Neither cold war nor hot: but a war of human warmth.

Another new National Peace Council publication in the pamphlet "Today they die" (price 6d.), an address given by the Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, MP, to the Swiss Peace Council last October.

It is a brief but powerful restatement of the case for international action in a "war

on want," on the basis of 10 per cent. of all the finance and physical resources planned for arms expenditure to be allocated for that purpose.

Mr. Wilson makes an interesting comment on the desirability of the Soviet Union identifying itself with the campaign.

He says "It would be far better for the future of mankind that the rivalry between East and West shall express itself in competitive programmes for world development rather than in a competitive arms race."

### Peace Year Book

The Peace Year Book for 1953, also just published by the NPC, (1s.) is a useful guide to the United Nations and European non-governmental bodies, the British and foreign peace movements, books, pamphlets and films and other matters of interest to all who are concerned with world affairs. In the section "Periodicals on Peace and World Affairs," there is still only one weekly publication, Peace News. A number of valuable monthly and quarterly periodicals are published by bodies affiliated to the NPC.

Five countries, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Iceland and Finland submit proofs of any new history text books to a commission of experts for comment and desirable changes before publication.

This attempt to eliminate prejudice has been going on for some years, writes Harold Bing, Chairman of the War Resisters' International in the current issue of "Peace and Freedom," Journal of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (4d. from 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.).

Sybil Morrison and Agnes Stapledon also contribute in the same issue.

The World Council for the Peoples' World Convention has launched a new bulletin in English from 55 rue Lacépède, Paris, V.



## The non-violent resistance campaign in S. Africa

# NO OBLIGATION TO OBEY UNJUST LAWS — Archbishop of Cape Town

**T**HE Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Dr. Geoffrey Clayton, in a letter in the official organ of the Diocese of Cape Town on the attitude of the Church to the civil disobedience movement, says: "It has been the traditional teaching of the Christian Church that there is no obligation on a man as a Christian to obey unjust laws."

There is an obligation on every churchman to be a law-abiding citizen of his country, he adds, yet there are circumstances in which it is a man's duty as a Christian to refuse to obey a particular law.

### "Your duty as a Christian"

"If a law were to be passed requiring you to do something which is in your belief contrary to the law of God, clearly your duty as a Christian is to obey God rather than man," he writes.

"A law does not become unjust because you do not agree with it. It often happens that we think a particular law unwise. But that does not entitle us to disobey it."

"We can only rightly do that if our conscience forbids us to obey it, or if a particular law is in our judgment inconsistent with fundamental human rights."

"And in the latter case it would be necessary that the matter should be one of real importance and that our disobedience was not likely to produce greater evils than those against which we should be making our protest. . . .

"If, however, a man does decide to disobey the law, he must be prepared to take the consequences. He is setting himself up against the State, and the State will inevitably protect itself and punish him for his transgression of the law."

"It seems to me that such a decision must be a personal decision. I don't think that the Church, or any other authority, can tell a man that he ought to make such a decision."

"But, on the other hand, I don't think the Church can condemn him if he has made it. Fundamentally it is for a man's own conscience to decide. . . .

"There is one thing about which we ought all to agree; and that is that laws

which are unjust ought not to remain on the Statute Book. We need laws which are not only just, but are obviously just. And unless and until we get them we shall never have peace."—*Indian Opinion*.

### Pacifist chief dismissed

**C**HIEF LUTHULI, an African Christian pacifist and member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, has been dismissed from his chieftainship of the Grootvlei Mission Reserve, South Africa, because he has given his support to the passive resistance campaign against race discrimination.

He was elected to his position in 1935 with the approval of the Governor-General.

In a statement made after the dismissal and published in *The Friend* (Jan. 16), he said that he had worked for thirty years to promote harmonious relations in the multi-racial society of South Africa.

"Thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly, at a closed and barred door," he adds.

Now he has joined his people in the new spirit that moves them today—"the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and non-violent manner."

### Ultimatum by Government

"I was given a two-week limit ultimatum by the Secretary for Native Affairs calling upon me to choose between the African National Congress and the chieftainship of the Reserve."

"He alleged that my association with Congress in its non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign was an act of disloyalty to the State."

"I did not agree, I saw no real conflict in my dual leadership of my people—leader of the tribe, as Chief, and political leader in Congress."

"I saw no cause to resign from either."

"This stand of mine, which resulted in my being sacked from the chieftainship, might seem foolish and disappointing to some liberal and moderate Europeans and non-Europeans with whom I have worked these many years, and with whom I still hope to work."

"This is no parting of the ways but a launching further into the deep."

## ONE LAW FOR THE CONSCRIPT —and another for General Grow

*As an exposure of the caste system which exists in armies, Conscription News recently published the following. Readers of Peace News may find a reminder of the General Grow case timely in the light of recent charges and counter-charges of espionage in both East and West.*

**MAJ.-GEN. ROBERT W. GROW**, the former Moscow military attache whose diary advocating war with Russia was stolen from his hotel room in Frankfurt, Germany, received a very mild sentence as a result of his court martial.

Grow was convicted on two counts—improperly recording secret information and failing to safeguard classified information properly. He was sentenced to a reprimand and suspension from command of troops for six months.

He continued, however, to draw a Major-General's salary and was, a month after his conviction, assigned to the Army Historical Office.

Contrast this mild punishment with a ten-year sentence of hard labour given to an American private, Warren McConnell, for falling asleep while on guard on the Korean front. The 20-year-old infantryman had been on duty for sixty-eight hours prior to the incident, with only two hours' sleep.

The Army caste system works so well to protect a General (and any other officers) that the Army claimed the statements published by the Russians as coming from Grow's diary were "complete fabrications" or lifted out of context.

If this is the case, and since the Russians have already seen the book, why doesn't the Army make it available for inspection by the American people who can judge for themselves its contents?

Among the excerpts published by the Russians were the following: "War! As soon as possible! Now!", and "It seems to me the time is ripe for a blow this year" (1951).

"We must start by hitting below the

### Pep talk gave him the pip

"**T**HE inspiring conclusion of a pep talk," a British conscript in Germany wrote to *Socialist Outlook* recently, "was that we should fight (Communism) by becoming good Christians."

"It was not stated but presumably taken for granted, that besides learning to love our neighbours as good Christians, we should also continue to learn to shoot at them as good British soldiers."

### BREAKING THE CURFEW

A group of resisters breaking the curfew and pass laws at 1 a.m. outside the General Post Office in Durban, Natal



## Must Churches wage cold war?

### A LETTER TO THE RUSSIAN PATRIARCH

**S**INCE July 1 last year, Mr. A. J. Muste of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation has made a number of attempts to enter into correspondence with the Patriarch of Moscow and All the Russians, Alexius. Although he has received no acknowledgment or direct reply, on October 21 he received copies of an English translation of the proceedings of the Zagorsk Peace Conference of All Churches and Religious Societies in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Muste has now written to the Patriarch on the basis of the contents of the report of the Zagorsk Conference. In addition to sending his letter to the Patriarch, he has handed a copy to the USSR delegation to the United Nations in New York. We publish the greater part of the letter below.

In a further effort to arrive at an understanding with you and other clergy and believers in Soviet lands, I make a brief comment on the principal programmatic address at Zagorsk made by Nicholas, Metropolitan of Krutitsy and Kolomoia, which occupies pages 33 to 86 of the English translation of the Proceedings which I received from Moscow.

The striking thing about the address of Metropolitan Nicholas is that in essentials it could have been made by almost any leading clergyman in the USA—only in that case the peaceful hopes, designs and actions of the people and government of the United States and the war-like behaviour of the Soviet people and government would have been stressed!

### What Americans believe

The Metropolitan begins with reference to the hopes for peace entertained by all after the frightful World War II. But, he says:

"These hopes were beclouded by the 'cold war' that was launched against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies."

I do not doubt you and your people believe this. I plead with you to try to realize that people here believe that it was the USSR which launched the "cold war."

The Metropolitan accuses Western nations and interests of launching "war propaganda" in order to cover up aggressive designs "with plausible arguments about defence and balance of power." Our people regard Russian propaganda, including many statements about "defence" of the "peace loving People's Democracies" at the Zagorsk Conference, in the same light.

The Metropolitan says: "Distrust prompts the fomenters of a new war to strive to become stronger than their opponents in order to be able to dictate their terms in the event of negotiations and war." People over here think that the Soviet Union builds up its military establishment, including its atom bomb stockpile, for the same purpose.

The Metropolitan goes further and believes that he can discern the difference "between the inner promptings of the opposing sides." One side, the Russian of course, is "on principle opposed to war . . . is with enormous energy working in the

cause of peace." The other side, the American of course, "is obviously afraid of peace, and notwithstanding its peaceful declarations, it is doing all in its power to bring about a new war." Believe me, honoured Patriarch, that practically without exception Christian people in this country hold exactly the opposite view of "the inner promptings" on the respective sides in this tragic conflict.

### Three constructive proposals

I conclude with three suggestions.

In the first place, in such a deadlock where so obviously people look out on the world from their own national and cultural standpoint, is it not the task of the Christian churches to enable at least their own members to look upon the grave problems of our time from the standpoint of a universal, trans-national fellowship in Christ, in which there cannot be Russian or American any more than there can be Gentile or Jew?

Secondly, is it not essential that a very great effort should be made to bring together for completely frank, uninhibited discussion the representatives of Christian churches, or of all religious groups indeed, throughout the world? Congresses of those who support or sympathize with one side or the other do not help to bridge the gulf but rather widen it. "Peace" itself is currently used, on both sides, as a means of war propaganda. Must religious leaders not insist that this must end?

### "Break with war—unconditionally"

Finally, I want to ask you again whether you would use your good offices to open the way for me and/or others like me to visit Russia and freely express there what I have expressed here:

That participation in war and obedience to Christ cannot be reconciled;

That individuals in each country in the world should withdraw their support from their own government's military activities, refusing to serve in the armed forces or to make or transport implements of war;

That the Church of Christ should break with war unconditionally;

That war is so evil and insane that no country ought to wait for any other to disarm but each should take the initiative in dismantling its own military establishment, regardless of what others do.

I continue to hope and pray that I may hear from you.

### Bar on FBI reports brings CO hearings in US to standstill

#### FROM A CORRESPONDENT

**A** UNITED STATES Court of Appeals decision that the use of secret FBI reports in the hearing of CO appeals is illegal has caused a standstill in a number of CO cases.

The cases affected are those where a CO was refused the recognition he sought but completed the legal routine by taking his medical examination, taking his stand as a CO by refusing induction into the armed forces.

### Trouble with the regulations

American COs have the right of Appeal after they have been turned down by a local "Draft Board." The regulations are apparently even more complicated than they are in this country.

When recently an American Jehovah's Witness won an appeal because the local Draft Board did not follow the regulations, the Chairman of the local Board exploded: "We're washing our hands of this case. Just let anybody come before us with a Bible and sing hymns and we'll turn him loose."

"And we're not going to call this man up again. The Court of Appeals let him go and they can have him."

## NEWS IN BRIEF

**J**ANUARY is a busy month for Finland's anti-war forces.

A conference on education for humanity and international friendship was organised by the Teachers' Peace Association on January 5-6.

A meeting on the Christian's attitude to war and peace in the present world situation was organised by Finland's Peace Association on January 12.

And on January 18 a meeting was arranged "for present and future conscientious objectors," with the object of starting an organisation for CO's.

A striking feature of the Teachers' conference was the fact that it was supported both by the Finnish Association for the United Nations and the Partisans of Peace.

**Immediate cancellation of the McCarran Act** has been called for by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers). The Act, which amongst other things involves the screening of seamen, has drawn protests from Britain, France, Italy, Norway, Sweden and Holland.

**An open letter to the President of the UN Assembly from the World Council of Churches**, "urges UN to persevere in its efforts to resolve the conflict (in Korea) by a truce which will safeguard prisoners of war against forcible repatriation or detention." For the overall political settlement the Council commends "the more widespread use in international conference of an umpire."

**THE Women's International League for Peace and Freedom** has issued a plea to the governments of the world to eliminate from their national Constitutions the right of sentencing fellow citizens to death.

"Ever since its inception," says the appeal, issued from Geneva, "the WIL has considered the right to life as a fundamental human right. Capital punishment violates this principle and contributes to the brutalisation of the mind of man."

**Glasgow members of the Peace Pledge Union** were sympathetically received at the U.S. Consulate when they called for the reprieve of Mr. and Mrs. Julius Rosenberg, sentenced to death in the U.S. for peace-time espionage.

**Mark Heath, the West Indian actor**, with the International players is giving a week at the Irving Theatre from January 27 to February 1 for East-West Friendship Council. They will perform Paul Claudel's "L'Anonce Fait a Marie" in the English version, *The Tidings* brought to Mary.

"If we were really Christians," and "Reverence for life," are the titles of two new peace leaflets written by and obtainable from the Rev. H. J. Dale, The Manse, Maulden, Beds. Prices per dozen are 1s. 6d. for the first title and 1s. for the second.

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## "Fighting in Korea should cease forthwith"—Rugby PPU

**S**PEAKING at the Rugby Friends' Meeting House recently, Sybil Morrison, Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, said that ordinary people—especially those with relatives in Korea, the soldiers themselves and the people of Korea—wanted peace; but she was very depressed by the conviction that none of the governments concerned wanted it.

The hypocrisy of the whole situation was shown by the concern about several thousand prisoners whilst at the same time proposals to use A-bombs and Napalm bombs which would kill many times that number of equally innocent people were freely made.

After a lively discussion, the meeting decided to send a resolution to the local MP asking him to support the idea that the fighting in Korea should cease forthwith, and that negotiations on repatriation of prisoners should be left to be settled afterwards.

### Brighton Parliament for "No more war"

**S**YBIL MORRISON was also the guest speaker at a recent meeting of the Brighton and Hove Parliament, where she carried a resolution "that this House does renounce war and pledges itself never to sanction or support another," by 13 votes to 11.

A woman Independent, reported the Brighton & Hove Herald, was uncompromising in her hostility to the resolution. "I started life as an idealist," she said, "but this is a hard, fearful and evil world and I have come to the conclusion that there will always be wars."

A young Labour MP saw as a prerequisite to world peace "a levelling up of the standard of living everywhere" and nationalisation in every country.

The Prime Minister supported the motion. Since the end of the war, he said, we have spent £5,000 millions on arms "and we are the most vulnerable country on the face of God's earth."

His panacea was to "abandon this policy of self-interest backed by war and replace it with the Christian ideal of the love of man."

A Conservative declared, "It is fantastic to negotiate without strength."

Miss Morrison had a final say, and in it she said: "I am a pacifist."

### PROTEST TO FOREIGN OFFICE

**T**HE last-minute cancellation of Professor Powell's West German lecture tour was the subject of a protest to the Foreign Office by the East Ham Peace Movement recently.

The cancellation came after the Daily Express had informed the Foreign Office that Professor Powell was associated with the Partisans of Peace.

We condemn what the Daily Express calls 'Panics at the Foreign Office,' and are amazed to read in that newspaper that this cancellation followed a telephone call from their editorial office," said the East Ham Peace Movement. "Can it be that the Foreign Office is taking its cue from Lord Beaverbrook?" they asked.

## Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.  
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

### Friday, January 23

**INGATESTONE:** 7.30 p.m.: Cong. Ch. Hugh Faulkner "Seeing for Myself in Russia." For.

### Sunday, January 25

**BOURNEMOUTH:** 6.30 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho. James Hudson, MP. "The Spirit of Negotiation." For.  
**ROBESON:** 8 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho. Lord St. Ray Lamb, Warden of Friends' Hall, Walthamstow Educational Settlement. "Russia: Impressions of a Visit to the USSR." For and Hollenden and District Pacifist Group.  
**TUNBRIDGE WELLS:** Harrington's Cafe, Five Ways; 11.30 a.m. PPU Area AGM; 2.15 p.m. Dr. A. N. Tucker—The Situation in Africa.

### Monday, January 26

**CARDIFF:** 7.30 p.m.: Friends' Ho. 43 Charles St. The Rev. H. Ingh James, BA, Ed. "Mao Mau and Others." For. For. Pacifist Group.  
**LONDON:** 7.15 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho. Clifford Macquire, "My Visit to Russia." For.

### Tuesday, January 27

**RICHMOND:** 8 p.m.: Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd., East Sheen. Edward Ashworth. "Social Credit and Pacifism." PPU.

### Wednesday, January 28

**LONDON, NW6:** 8 p.m.: 35 Calcutt Rd., St. Mary's, "PPU and Communism." PPU.

### Thursday, January 29

**COVENTRY:** 7.45 p.m.: Queens Rd. Baptist Ch. Clifford Macquire, "Three Weeks in Soviet Russia." For.  
**LONDON, WC2:** 12.30 p.m. Lincoln Inn Fields; Open air mtg: Sybil Morrison and Robert Horan; PPU.

### FINDING MOTIVES BEHIND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

**T**HE removal of the Stepney Pacifist Service Unit to larger premises at Mary Hughes House, 71 Vallance Road, E.1 has enabled it to establish much closer contact with the problem families among whom it works, says the Annual Report which has just been published.

There is now a Mothers' Room, where the mothers can sew and read and meet others, and learn informally about housecraft and child care, while the children are welcomed every evening in a Children's Room.

The close personal relationship with the children is found to be of great value in understanding and assessing child-parent relationships, and throws light on the problem of the child's behaviour at home, and also on some of the motives behind the formation of juvenile gangs.

Some cases are referred to the PSU by the Courts, which in two cases have commented on the speed of rehabilitation of the children concerned.

Vagrants still visit the house, as they did in the days of Mary Hughes, its former owner.

The Unit reports a heavy financial deficit, as a result of the greater cost of maintaining its new premises, and its increased activities.

### B. N. LANGDON-DAVIES

**M**R. B. N. LANGDON-DAVIES, who died at Welwyn Garden City on December 28 at the age of 76, was a socialist who had remained a pacifist in two world wars.

He was at one time President of the Cambridge Union. Before 1914 he worked with Sir Norman Angell, lecturing on the "Great Illusion."

In World War I he was prominent in safeguarding the rights of the citizen under conscription in the face of a hostile public opinion.

While at the Labour Publishing Company he published the pacifist poems of G.D.H. and Margaret Cole.

In later life as a member of the Welwyn Garden City Council he contributed largely to making his town the glory of Hertfordshire. With all this he still found time to spread the message of peace and fellowship through his talks and writings. Unorthodox enough to love his neighbour better than himself, he was a happy man.

T.G.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Truce proposals

**W**ITH reference to your reply to Mr. Mienies letter about the difference between the Vienna resolution on Korea and Mr. Noel Baker's proposals, let us compare them.

The Appeal of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace says:

"We call for all hostilities to cease immediately. While towns are shattered and blood flows, agreement becomes impossible. When hostilities have ceased, the parties will more easily reach agreement on the questions at issue between them."

It does not call for the prisoner of war question to be dealt with as part of the general political settlement as you allege.

Mr. Noel Baker's proposal reads as follows:

"Could the truce be taken in two stages, both to be completed before the political conference began? The first stage would be a cease-fire, on the basis of the agreements already made... The second stage would be agreement about the prisoners' return. Only when that too was settled, would the political conference begin... I should have thought that once the fighting had stopped, the chances of getting agreement on the prisoners would be increased."

I can see no incompatibility between the two texts. If any disagreement is intended, Peace News could bring it to light by calling on those who support the first to support the second as well. All peace and political organisations and people of good will should be asked to support at least one of these proposals. For instance, the Labour Party is launching a "Stop the War" campaign. Here is their chance.

J. SCOTT MATHESON.

23 St. Mary's Road,

Headington, Oxford.

### Buddha and war

**I**N a notably fine article "The 'Third Man' Delusion" (Peace News, Dec. 26) in reply to Edgar A. Mowrer's plea for enlightened militarism, Professor Karel Huxley comes as quoting from what Aldous Huxley some time ago pointed out to be the dangerous and misleading opening to the "Bhagavad Gita."

In this, the compassionate Arjuna, feeling that killing conflicts with his highest sense of good, is instructed by the Master that because man is essentially spiritual not material, he will not be killing anything real when he massacres his brother man! This argument, of course, is based on the philosophical teaching that all unlike Brahman (Mind) is Maya, or illusion.

If this was indeed the instruction of the Master and not, as Huxley expressed the hope, a wrong interpretation of the original teachings, it only proves the superiority of the Christian ethic.

For Jesus, who also knew that the Spirit quickeneth and that the flesh profiteth nothing, was confronted with the same suggestion. Immediately after he had realised his son-of-Godhood or essential likeness to the invisible and Eternal God-

head which he defined as Spirit, he was tempted to throw himself from a high pinnacle in proof of this realisation. But he was mentally alert enough to see that in order to cast a body down, one must first admit the "reality" of that body and so descend from the high vision which alone can preserve man from the lower law of sickness and death.

It is unfortunate that Arjuna was not equally logical and able to point out that if the bodies of men were not real, it was absurd to try to slaughter them with the sword (or hand grenades, or napalm jelly). As Buddha and Jesus both proved by their lives, those who sincerely believe in the essential spirituality of man do harm to no living creature.

It would seem necessary for pacifists to know the answer to this metaphysical conundrum if they are to debate successfully with followers of the Hindu Scriptures. Gandhi obviously rejected this part of the Gita teaching as having a literal meaning.

ESMIE WYNNE TYSON.

Clarwyn, East Beach, Selsey, Sussex.

### "Free Trade Fetish"

**A** FEW hours ago I left the meeting of the PPU Social Order Commission. We had discussed world and national problems and the more homely affair of how to make members of the Commission more quickly aware of each other's opinions.

With the meeting still in mind, I have just read Wilfred Wellock's further contribution in Peace News of January 16. I could enlarge on his reference to India by saying that there have been some deep wrongs in the constitution of Indian Society since even before the East India Company was formed.

If the reward for the wealth that the natives of India had created by their toil had been equally distributed among them, there would be no embargoes on their imports now. They could buy every new car the world had for sale.

I should like to suggest that all the contributors to the symposium that came out of Betty Walden's challenge should combine their efforts in working towards their common goal—the abolition of poverty and war. That is the object of the PPU Social Order Commission too.

H. G. EDE.

162 Ash Grove, Heston, Middlesex.

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witness for world

## PEACE

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### MEETINGS

**BECOME YOUR OWN ECONOMIST.** Free 10 week courses in Political Economy begins Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, January 20, 21, and 22, at Westminster. Enrol now for next suitable day. Classes also being held in Hford, Croydon, Enfield and Hoxney. Write for full particulars and prospectus to the Henry George School of Social Science, 1 Great Smith St., SW1, or telephone ABBEY 4443.

**ISLINGTON'S DELEGATE** to Vienna Congress. John Smith, Quaker and Bus-conductor. Co-op. Hall, Seven Sisters Rd., N.7. Monday, January 26, 8 p.m. Adm. 4d. L.I.L.—DAY SCHOOL, on South Africa. O. Caldwell and B. Hiron (S.A. Freedom League) Montague Hotel, WC1 (nr. Russell Sq.) Saturday, January 31, 3.30-8.30.

**INTERNATIONAL CLUB.** Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 12 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

**KING'S WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube, Sunday at 7 p.m. The Gospel of Peace.** Rev. Claude M. Collman, MA, B.Litt.

### Wednesday, February 11

**SCARBOROUGH:** 7.30 p.m.: Friends' Mtg. Ho. Clifford Macquire, "My Visits to USA and the USSR." For.

### Thursday, February 12

**STOCKTON-ON-TYNE:** 7.30 p.m.: Brunswick Methodist Ch., Davenport St. Clifford Macquire, "My Visit to Russia." For.

**LONDON, WC2:** 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg: Sybil Morrison and Robert Horan; PPU.

### Saturday, February 14

**LONDON, WC2:** 3 p.m.: Westminster Friends' Mtg. Ho. St. Martin's Lane (near Coliseum). London Area Annual General Meeting followed by tea and "Annual Get Together." PPU.

**MAN, CREATOR.** Preserver, Destroyer. Public lecture. Sunday, Jan. 25, 7 p.m. United Lodge of Theosophists, 82 Queen's Gdns., Devonshire Terrace, off Craven Rd., W2 (5 min. Paddington or Lancaster Gate stations). Free. All welcome.

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## War no longer an effective instrument of policy — Pastor Niemoller

sible. He tried to achieve peace by recognition of the importance of moral principles in international affairs.

### The impact of small cells

Explaining Gandhi's methods, Prof. L. Massignou, eminent French historian and orientalist, said they were particularly suited to action in small groups.

There were such small groups of men throughout the world, and in France one was preparing a manual on non-violence in that spirit.

Gandhi's life was an example of how such small cells could have an overwhelming impact on society.

He pleaded that true Gandhian followers should work to create centres of sanctuary where unconditional asylum to the wounded and to all refugees could be given. Establishment of such sanctuaries would restore the sense of sacredness of life.

### Evil of conscription

Gandhi's programme, he concluded, could be applied in family life; in community life by means of small units; in national life by creating zones of security for minorities; and lastly in international life.

If applied in the international sphere it would lead to the recognition that to force a people to fight is a sin against the spirit. It would also involve abolition of exclusive rights and privileges for particular social groups and would guarantee equal rights to all individuals on the basis of their common humanity.

Pastor Niemoller said that World War II had taught Germany that violence was now outmoded and that war could no longer be an effective instrument of policy.

"It is in this crisis of spirit that Europe is turning to Gandhi's philosophy on non-violence," he said. "While the majority of men throughout the world want to eliminate violence from society, we do not know how to do so."

"If there is to be international authority to maintain peaceful relations," he continued, "and there is no doubt on the matter that we can achieve this objective either by establishment of a world organisation or by Gandhian methods, there is, however, no immediate prospect of the establishment of world government and hence Gandhi's way of non-violence is the only alternative now."

### True Christianity

Gandhi's life was described by Dr. Niemoller as "a challenge to Christians" for "he was seeking to apply Christian principle on the international level."

"Those who do not have faith in God," he continued, "seek to revenge themselves on their enemies, while Christians and others who believe in God seek reconciliation with their enemies in their hour of triumph."

Prof. Tsurumi, of Japan, said that the Japanese sought to find from Gandhi the answer to three specific questions:

1. How to avert another war;
2. How to solve international difficulties arising out of war; and
3. How to fill the vacuum created by the destruction of ancient ideals.

Paying tribute to the character of Gandhi,

Prof. Tsurumi said: "Essentially a religious man, there was no divergence between his profession and his practice. That is why he influenced millions, for ideals may appeal to intellectuals but it is only personality that can move the masses."

Dr. Radhakrishnan, Vice-president of India, said that in working for the cause of Indian freedom Gandhi at the same time sought to demonstrate the validity of his non-violent methods.

### Truth and Non-violence

"His nationalism is the means to true internationalism," he continued, "for he sought to show that national liberation can be achieved by methods of truth and non-violence."

"Gandhi always distinguished between evil and the evil-doer. He therefore condemned the exploitation, but not the exploiter. He had his differences with the British but he had nothing but friendship for the individual Britisher."

Dr. Radhakrishnan continued: "What is needed today is slow transformation of society. We have marched far from the laws of the jungle, and reached a state when we have justice of state."

We cannot, however, rest there but must march on till we achieve a world state. Great souls who rise above national limitations may not need such a world order, but the common man cannot do without it.

"Gandhi, if he had lived would have sought to build a world state with executive authority and police as opposed to military force."

Closing the seminar, Dr. Prasad, President of India, said that unless some nation took its courage in its own hands and came out with a clear-cut programme of "no war under any circumstances, defensive or offensive, and no army of any kind," the battle for non-violence would continue and would not end in its victory.

## KOREA: THE REJECTION OF THE INDIAN PROPOSALS

By Dora Holden

THE Soviet Union and the Peking Government rejected the Indian proposals for a Korean armistice. Have they any justification?

Mr. Vyshinsky said that the most important thing was an immediate cease fire in Korea, and that no provision for this was made in the Indian proposals.

The Chinese government made a statement, supporting the Soviet proposal and also re-affirmed the stand maintained by the Chinese delegates at the Panmunjom truce talks that the repatriation should be in accordance with the Geneva convention and with international practice.

This is not the first time that Mr. Vyshinsky has called for a cease fire in Korea. He did so on January 4, 1952 at the UN Assembly in Paris, when he called for a special meeting of the Security Council to consider measures for bringing it about. Again on October 6, at the Assembly in New York he proposed an immediate cessation of hostilities.

It has been said that Russia and China do not really wish the war to end; then why is a cease fire proposed? If it is suggested that the proposal is only made because it is known that it will not be accepted, this is really a condemnation of the Western powers.

The logical process is, first a cease fire and then a consideration of the repatriation of the prisoners. The United Nations have stood for what they have called voluntary, as against, forced repatriation.

### If British had been screened

How would we have felt if we had been told that there were large numbers of British prisoners who were unwilling to be repatriated?

Would we not question this state of affairs? Would we not be justified in wondering if some questioning under pressure had taken place?

Is there not much justification for Mr. Vyshinsky's contention that the issue of repatriation should never have arisen?

The logic of events is shown in the many ghastly prison camp incidents which have taken place at Pusan and the Koje and Cheju islands, involving many deaths and a large number of wounded.

On May 16, the International Red Cross issued a report on one of the earliest Koje incidents in February 1952. The prisoners

To avoid a third world war... requires not the achievement of a paradise of goodwill but such constant strength, unity and preparedness on the part of the free nations as will at all times deter the dictators of the Kremlin from taking the risk of war. Mr. Eisenhower knows that truth as well as any leader of the West.

The idea of a crusade lies at the bottom of most of the new President's emotion and thought. CRUSADE IN EUROPE is the title he chose for his account of the war, and the word crusade occurs in almost every speech he made.

A CRUSADE, according to the dictionary, is "any noble enterprise undertaken with zeal," which leaves it, so to speak, dependent upon the interpretation of the word "noble", and here the dictionary gives a wide choice, ranging from "high birth" to "virtuous" and "righteous".

In the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries many bitter and brutal wars were fought to win back what was known as the Holy Land from the Turks; since these wars were considered to be righteous, those who fought against the Turkish infidels went into battle with a Cross emblazoned on their shields, and on their coats of mail, and were, without doubt, confident that God must be on their side.

The Cause was considered a good enough reason for calling it a Crusade rather than a war, but nevertheless those involved did not escape any of the horrors and sufferings of war.

It may well be that it is not only Eisenhower, but many others, who need to be bolstered up in their preparations for the wholesale butchery that war means today, by the idea that they are engaged in "a noble enterprise."

But if the concept of goodwill, which is the essential basis of any hopeful negotiation, is to be discarded, and if constant strength in arms, powerful enough to deter "at all times," is to take its place, then

modern crusaders should, unlike their forebears, be at least honest enough to remove from their symbolic shields the sign of Christ.

To be strong enough "at all times," means that the weight is so placed as always to pull down the scales on the one side, but it seems to be overlooked that tremendous efforts will be made by the other side to tip the scales to their side by a reciprocal weight piling.

In practice this means constant, unceasing renewal of weapons, which in turn means discarding obsolete ones, though not, it is to be assumed, heaving them into ploughshares, but merely casting them on to a giant scrap-heap.

As each new weapon is produced, further experiments lead to the production of others; already since the explosion of the first atom bomb new atomic bombs have been made and tried out, hydrogen bombs and guided atomic missiles are in the making, the propeller has given place to the jet, and flame-throwing machines to napalm bombs.

So long as Russia accepts the same doctrine as the West in regard to armaments (and there is no evidence to show that she does not), each new weapon of the West will be countered and balanced by one from the East. The scales go up and down, and should they seem to balance there is no reason to suppose that either or both sides will call off the weight piling; on the contrary, it would be the signal for immediately renewing the battle against balancing.

This is the real meaning of "constant strength"; unceasing, unremitting endeavour to avoid an unknown and unseen danger, with no respite, and with no productive result; every ounce of energy and raw material must be poured on to the scales merely to weigh them down with stuff that can never be consumed unless there is war.

Common sense alone should prevent following such a hopeless and deadly course, but common sense is in a minority to be heard amid the clasp of cynical welcoming the leader of yet another crusade.

The crusade to end wars and the crusade to end Nazism have both been undertaken and have failed; now, as we cheer on the man who is to launch the third crusade, the crusade for freedom from fear, the whole world trembles to the detonation of atom bombs.

Never was there more reason for fear, and never more need for a real crusade, a virtuous and righteous enterprise undertaken with zeal by all who call themselves Christians. The password is goodwill, the sign the broken rifle, the goal—peace.

### CHRISTIAN ACTION in the AFRICA CRISIS

Public Meeting, Central Hall, Westminster, Monday, February 2, at 7.0 p.m. Buffet from 6 p.m. Speakers include: Mr. Hon. James Griffiths, M.P., Nontando Jahavu, Lady Pakenham, Rev. Michael Scott, Victor Gollancz, Chairman: Canon L. J. Collins. Tickets 2s. 6d. res. 1s. inres. from Christian Action, 2 Amen Court, E.C.4 (CIT 6869). Some free seats available at hall.

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## ● BEHIND THE NEW

(Continued from page two)

assistance to anyone working behind the "Iron Curtain" for the overthrow of the Communist regime.

With such threats from without, are there not bound to be arrests, trials and purges within Communist countries—and increasingly so if there is any kind of dissension at home?

But though the trials in Prague and Moscow may be a phase of the cold war, they indicate that all is not as well within the Communist countries as they would like the outside world to believe.

There is a struggle for personal power if nothing more widespread.

We may expect to see the arrest of one or more of the leading politicians who have, in the past, been more favourably disposed towards the Jews, and the emergence in the struggle for succession of someone like Molotov, who has been believed to have an anti-semitic attitude.

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REV. MI pion United Nations speaker at a port of the Resistance Hall, Westminster, 2, at 7 p.m.

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